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Psychology and the Lesson of the

BRAND REVOLT.

1922.



**The Psychology and  
the Lesson of the  
RAND REVOLT,  
1922.**



By BRUTUS.



Published by the Central News Agency.

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## The Psychology and the Lesson of the RAND REVOLT.

1922.

The story of this dangerous upheaval of destructive forces is by no means an easy one to tell or to follow. There are things to be understood long antecedent to the cessation of work in the first place, and to the actual outbreak of the revolution in the second.

Certain conditions may be described as permanent, that is, either they are due to permanent facts of nature and human economy, or they have been so long established that they have apparently come to stay, and so have to be reckoned with as permanent: certain other conditions are temporary, or factitious, and possibly removable in whole or in part.

Among the permanent conditions may be mentioned:—

- I. the disproportion between the European and the coloured population,
- II. the tendency of the white man to degenerate in South Africa,
- III. racial bitterness and exclusiveness, and the consequent opposition to an influx of fresh blood from overseas, particularly an influx of English blood.
- IV. the dependence of the price of gold on world and not on local circumstances,
- V. the trail and the tradition of the international financier in the control of the Rand, and the consequent widespread suspicion of the "mining-houses."
- VI. the selfish exclusiveness of the "labour" organizations and their settled policy of exploiting the other classes of the community, both white and black.

Prominent among the temporary—and possibly passing—conditions are:—

1. The alteration, due primarily to the Great War, in the type and character of the European "worker" on the mines,

2. the unwillingness to accept any readjustment of wages to the price of the commodity produced,
3. the undue influx of an undesirable type of European immigrant.
4. the spread of Socialistic and Bolshevik propaganda by extremists, mostly of Scottish or Jewish extraction,
5. the lack of a corporate sense in Johannesburg itself, and the consequent degradation of the control of its municipal life and services.
6. the weakness and hesitancy of the Government owing to its uncertainty of the retention of its majority.

I. The huge preponderance in the Union of the black population—roughly over five millions against one and a quarter million white—and the fear of the swamping of the European section, have resulted in the imposition of the restriction of the “colour-bar” in certain parts of South Africa. One obvious result arising therefrom, besides the restraint on the native’s progress in skilled labour, is the disinclination of the European to endure any physical strain that can be forced upon the native for a tenth part of the pay. The more degraded the white man is, the more bitterly does he resent the coloured or the black man venturing to invade the territory of “work” that has been hitherto appropriated by the European. The shiftless white wastrel instinctively fears the acquisition of any skill by the non-white, as threatening the ease with which he can command a wage utterly disproportionate to the energy expended or the value of his work. Brutality is the ready expression of this attitude of mind, and many isolated outrages are attributable to it all over South Africa. Much of the routine work of mining, as well as other things, can be learnt, and is learnt, by the intelligent black man, and it is notorious that many a so-called “European miner” has picked up the greater part of his knowledge of mining operations from his own “boss boy,” who is restrained by the purely artificial “colour-bar” from an equitable return for his labour and skill. It is also notorious that a certain type of European will not hesitate upon occasion to kick or bludgeon into insensibility the native who is working with him, if he has done something to irritate—and this in the piping times of industrial peace. It will be readily understood, therefore, how, in quarters where this type of white abounds, a fictitious cry of “A White South Africa in Peril” may be as dangerous and uncontrollable as a live match to the dry veld. The skilled and energetic European has little to fear from the coloured man’s competition, and his attitude and conduct are usually widely different. With its favourable conditions

of soil and climate and other resources, there is no reason why South Africa should not become a permanent home for a large European population, but the "White South Africa" must be attained by superior intelligence, energy and enterprise, and not by the imposition of artificial disabilities dependent on colour, language or blood. A policy of artificial repression of any section of the population inevitably carries its retribution in the deterioration of the oppressor himself. And this brings us naturally to our next head.

II. It is as true in South Africa, as in other lands, where the conditions of climate and labour entail less strain on the white man, that the immigrant from colder regions tends to lose something of his vigour and energy, and the representatives of the two dominant races in South Africa, knowing the snare of this slackness, have to brace themselves against it, if they are to hold their own without such artificial aids as the "colour-bar." Failing a constant influx of fresh European blood we should probably be slacker and less energetic than we are; and yet it is notable how the newcomer—man or woman, and most readily woman—slips into slackness, and disdains to do the work that was the every-day and natural thing in the older land: the native drudge is too ready to hand. This tendency is, of course, much less marked in the more bracing high-veld climate of Johannesburg, but many of the newer population come from lower altitudes of South Africa, and they have brought their habits with them.

In practically all the trades the white mechanic is never seen without at least one black man "attached" to him, who trundles the wheelbarrow, carries the ladders, and in general fills all the heavy part of the programme. Too often the white boy grows up to think that anything for which the back must be bent and the muscles strained is "Kaffir's work"—his is to put the finishing touches and to scoop nine-tenths of the "wage." It is dishonourable to "grunt and sweat under a weary life" of manual labour, but it is not so to undergo twice the muscular strain and exercise in sports and games. The physical energy and the capacity are the white man's in Johannesburg as much as anywhere else—it is the point of view that is wrong.

III. The object of this paper is to set forth a true account of things as they are, as far as can be ascertained, and it is therefore useless to camouflage or minimize in any way the ugly fact that racialism among a large proportion of the Dutch people is as strong as ever—a fact deplored by the better part of both Dutch and English folk. It manifests itself in a bitter opposition to everything English—not necessarily to individual Englishmen, with whom sometimes excellent social or

even business relations may be maintained—and in a still bitterer antagonism towards anyone of Dutch blood who is supposed to truckle to or league himself with English influences. It has been an affectation with the English politician for so long to make extravagant boasts as to the attachment and loyalty to the Empire of the Dutch in South Africa as a result of the “generous policy” adopted towards them—politicians have a way of claiming “generosity” for some decision or policy for which others have to pay the price. The reiteration of insincerities cannot make them any the less untrue, and it is much better, if there is to be any hope for the future, to face facts as they are, no matter how deplorable and unpleasant they may be. Some may say it is unnatural and ungrateful, considering everything; unaccountable, in fact—the psychology of it is perhaps contained in the old Scots proverb—“Dae a man a good turn, and he’ll never forgie ye.” Call it what you will, there it is, the ugliest fact in South Africa to-day, and the greatest obstacle to the progress of the country. It is useless to canvass the reasons for it—it is not based upon reason, but upon prejudice, and must be lived down and not argued down. It is ministered to and exacerbated wherever influences that are hostile to English ideals or interests have a chance to operate: the German missionary or trader has many an opportunity and frequently takes it. Strangely, too, the Jewish storekeeper in the remoter parts is too often suspected of fostering the same bitterness. But of him and his kind later.

The desire to keep control of the ballot-box is the practical consideration that vitalizes much of this bitter feeling, and it will be readily understood that, with sections of the Rand now largely populated by people drawn ultimately from the remoter parts of the country and impregnated with this intense prejudice, there was plenty of material ready to be exploited by the unscrupulous agitator for his sinister purposes.

IV. The inability or unwillingness, on the part of the miner and his representatives, to appreciate the fact that the price of gold was dependent on world and not on local conditions, and that, unlike other commodities, it was not even partially within the power of the producer to modify or control, was one of the most striking features in the situation both before and after the stoppage of work.

It would seem to be obvious to any intelligent person that, if the price of the commodity was rapidly decreasing for general economic reasons, the only way of maintaining—to say nothing of extending—the industry was to reduce the cost of production by decreasing wages and increasing efficiency. The mulish refusal to accept this cannot be attributed to failure to understand, so much

as to a deliberate policy of obscuring the issue, and accumulating misstatements and misrepresentations so as to produce an embittered and explosive attitude of mind. The cold fact has remained unassailable, and the refusal to accept it has brought all the severer retribution on the innocent and the guilty alike.

V. In any discussion with, or consideration of the point of view of, the authorities of an individual mine or of their corporate interests as represented by the Chamber of Mines, there is a regrettable tradition of the doings of the big financier in the early days that tends to prejudice the case at the outset in the mind of the average man-in-the-street. It may be that the floating and fostering of bogus schemes, the watering of stock, the inequity of vendor's shares, the amalgamations and consolidations of evil repute are largely things of the past, and that there is a genuine desire to-day on the part of the directors of mining policy to establish the industry on a stable and dividend-yielding basis; but the average man has been accustomed to look too much upon the whole thing as a game—in which he has been only too ready to take a hand himself upon occasion—of which the object has been, not to secure an investment that will yield a steady and satisfactory return, but to find some more foolish or sanguine person than himself and to transfer to him, at a profit, something that he desires to be rid of; or to create a position that compels the sale to himself of something that he knows will appreciate enormously in value. Hence authoritative statements and reports and figures have come to be regarded with suspicion, as not disclosing the full truth; and, however excellent the intentions of the present Chamber of Mines may be, their side of any question is handicapped by the existence of this unfortunate tradition.

Even where honesty of intention is beyond doubt, there is another unfortunate tradition in regard to the capacity of many in control of the mining-houses. A number of years ago the late Mr. Stead insulted the Rand by describing it as a "third-rate Chicago run by second-rate clerks," but he was probably expressing in this offensive way the belief of many that the real controlling power was elsewhere, and that those on the spot were merely mechanically carrying out a dictated policy that was to subserve primarily interests other than those of South Africa.

Was it John Stuart Mill who was responsible for the cynical gibe, that the Crown Colonies of the Empire provided an excellent scheme of "outdoor relief" for the impecunious and less gifted scions of the ruling families? A similar belief was held regarding many of the important posts in the mining-houses, and there is possibly still some ground for the accusation that there is too much

“top-hamper” in the administration of the mines. At any rate the man-in-the-street generally believes that unnecessary and extravagantly paid posts are multiplied for people for whom jobs have to be found or maintained.

Even if there is only a fraction of truth in regard to such sweeping accusations and suspicions to-day, the trouble lies in getting the employe on the mines to accept, or the general public to sympathise with, a drastic cut in wages, unless he sees it first applied “at the top.” Not that the cutting off of the whole “top” would affect the aggregate very seriously in comparison with the enormous amount distributed among the rank and file, white and black; but, until he sees a genuine “all-round cut,” the average man is disposed to distrust the alleged necessity for the reduction of his own pay.

This widely-held prejudice, however exaggerated or unjust it may be, against the Chamber of Mines must be reckoned with in any controversy in which they become involved.

VI. While there may be some difference of view as to the professed and the real policy of the mining representatives, there is none in the avowed aims of the “labour” organizations. Whether the executive officers of these various organizations, in pompous titles and mystifying scales of ascending importance, fairly and proportionately represent the working-men who are supposed to elect them or not, the control seems to have got into the hands of men of extreme views, who miss no opportunity of announcing and driving home a policy of blustering intolerance and exclusiveness. On the latter point they join hands with the extreme Nationalists, and would restrict the influx from outside of representatives of different trades and industries, lest the economic law of supply and demand should make it difficult for them to enforce whatever exorbitant scale of wages they will upon public and employers alike. They desire to leave no doubt as to their intention: the printed constitution of the South African Industrial Federation, as amended in 1918 and published in 1920, contains the following clause No. 6:—

“That at all times a militant spirit shall be cultivated on the side of the workers.”

Against whom? Obviously against everyone else in the community, and more particularly against their employers and those who exercise authority over them—or try to do so. This means something widely different from a similar attitude or demonstration in European countries. There it would mean against their employers and the “classes” above them: here it means all that, but it must also mean against the enormous masses of coloured and black, who, after all, are the real workers in South Africa.

To put the policy in a nutshell, the "better classes" must be looted, and the natives held down and underpaid.

Funds are to be raised for this express purpose.

Clause No. 7 indicates this:—"To raise funds for the carrying out of the methods mentioned in this rule" (presumably the immediately preceding Clause No. 6).

This sort of swashbuckling nonsense seems too absurd on the face of it to appeal to the sober-minded type of working-man, whose normal desire, like that of all sane people, would be to "seek peace and ensue it," but the extraordinary thing is that this flatulent and pretentious mouthing, if persisted in sufficiently long and vigorously, achieves the result of disorganizing industry generally, of making discipline of any kind difficult, if not impossible, to enforce, and naturally of impairing efficiency all round.

This was the spirit that had been assiduously cultivated among the members of the Trade Unions: their hand and voice against every other section of the community; and this was the state of mind in which those who spoke for them approached the controversy that every country has now to face regarding the equitable adjustment of labour and wages.

One would fain put this condition among the temporary ones, but it has unfortunately been so diligently cultivated, and the promoting machinery has been so elaborately devised, that the resultant attitude of mind looks as if it had permanently displaced the old-fashioned trade-union principle of action.

How this injunction to "cultivate a militant spirit" was interpreted and given expression to will be dealt with later in the account of the revolution itself.

What have been called "temporary conditions" must also be considered separately:—

1. In the earlier days of the mining industry on the Rand, the "miner" usually meant one who had learnt his job elsewhere, and turned it to profitable account in the gold mines. Among such the Cornishmen bulked very largely, and, whatever truth there may be in the many hard things said of them, there was no denying that they knew their work.

Miners' phthisis—greatly aided by ignorance and recklessness—devastated the ranks of the miners, and other causes contributed towards a gradual change in the personnel, particularly in the direction of a larger proportion being drawn from South Africa itself. What gave an enormous and rapid increase to this change was the Great War, when a large number of men connected with the mines volunteered for service in Africa and overseas. Very many did not return.

Young men poured in, from the country parts mostly, to take the place of those who had gone. They

were unskilled in any form of work, many of them ill-educated and untrained in habits of discipline or order of any kind, who, but for the mines, would have tended to be produced at whatever cost or trouble and to swell the ranks of the poor whites. At that time gold had advantage was taken of the extremity of the mines to force up wages and concurrently to force down efficiency. The control of the authorities became weaker and weaker in the face of blustering and intimidation that were growing more general and organized. The underground-manager, or even the manager himself, hesitated to find fault with or to discharge an insolent or unsatisfactory "worker" lest the rest should "down tools." Real efficiency was impossible among men originally ignorant of their job and unwilling to subject themselves to essential discipline and training. Not only was efficiency impossible among themselves, but the quality of the natives controlled by such men was also bound to deteriorate. Given the best intention in the world, the native's efficiency suffers enormously under slack or unskilful supervision, and the evil example of a slack or incompetent white colleague is utterly demoralizing to the black man. The insubordination and inefficiency were general and notorious, and nothing but the enormously enhanced value of gold could have carried the mines through.

Even after peace was declared, and some of the ex-service men drifted back to the mines there was very little reduction made in the number of this unsatisfactory type of "mine-worker." Further concessions were extorted from the mining authorities in the matter of wages and war-allowances, and agreements as to the much-debated "status quo." It was of little use to fix a proportion of 8 or 10 or 12 natives to 1 white man, when both the 8 and the 1 were working much below standard. The whole position became economically impossible, when the price of gold descended rapidly towards the normal figure.

A settlement had to be found in this as in every industry, when the relation of price of commodity to cost of production is violently altered. But when the industrial problem fell to be discussed, it was found that a new element had to be reckoned with, the political one, and worst of all, the racial one, to which reference has already been made. The agitator had made the most of his opportunity with such material to hand, and the industrial aspect of the question was largely obscured, in the minds of the type of men that has been described, by the misrepresentations and other devices that the politician employs unscrupulously "to vilify his opponents and to glorify himself."

## 2. The unwillingness to acquiesce in any reduction

of wages is not peculiar to the Rand, but is characteristic of the working-man, whether singly or in combination, all the world over. He may know quite well that a readjustment must be made to meet altered conditions, and that it is impossible to continue any industry or business, if the wages bill overtops the receipts derived from output, but it has become a tradition with him to enter upon any controversy of the kind with a stiff upper lip, and to delay the evil day by holding out as long as possible.

Had that position not been complicated by other factors mentioned, and had the question been dealt with as one in regard to which employer and employed had to consider the other point of view, in order to preserve from destruction the industry that was essential to the well-being of both, the solution of the difficulty would have taken time, but it would have been found.

Unfortunately that was not the position: so far as the mines were concerned, the one party to an agreement was never directly represented after the acute stage was reached, and it became gradually evident that their spokesmen were out for other purposes than an adjustment of differences on equitable terms. The handling of the dispute was with the "militant" South African Industrial Federation, and the Mine Workers' Union was voiceless.

3. It is bad enough for a young country like South Africa to have a considerable part of her own young people handicapped in their development by difficulties, physical and other, in respect of an education adequate to equip them for their work in life, and to safeguard them against the wiles and sophistries of the racial and industrial agitator, who would take advantage of their ignorance and inexperience to prejudice and embitter them against others in our little community with whom it is essential that they should build up stable and friendly relations; but it is deplorable to have, superadded to these internal handicaps to progress and well-being, an undue influx of soured and unsuitable immigrants from parts of Europe where, to their minds, the idea of government has been a tradition of something hateful and oppressive.

Both England and the United States, in their policy of welcoming aliens to their land of liberty, have proved the peril of admitting to their shores and to their citizenship more than they can effectively absorb and assimilate, and they are now imposing the necessary restrictions and restraints upon the immigration of those who are strangers to their language, habits and traditions, and who are likely therefore, in undue numbers, to be a menace to their social, political and industrial peace. South Africa, too, with her natural desire for

the increase of her white population, has opened her doors too readily, and now realizes that many have abused her generosity and the freedom that she offers.

If we are to arrive at a true estimate of the position, it is better to be perfectly plain and to say that the class of more recent immigrant referred to consists mostly of the impecunious Jew from Central Europe, and particularly from Russia and Poland. He comes here, as we have said, hating the idea of government, but still preserving his attitude of cringing subservience to those in official authority, till he finds that the freer constitution renders these habits unnecessary and even provocative of contempt, whereupon he swings over to an opposite attitude of truculence and self-assertiveness, and his hatred of all authority becomes vocal and blatant even in the new tongue, which he acquires with dangerous rapidity: this is apparently the part of his new environment that he most readily absorbs; the rest largely fails to interest or attract. He remains too often imbued with all his traditional prejudices, and transmits them to his offspring, who continue to be in important respects almost as little in touch with the older elements of the population.

These new immigrants avail themselves greedily of the unfamiliar gifts of free education, primary and secondary, and of our generous provision of scholarships and endowments for University education, and tend to become clamorous and assertive in regard to their "rights."

All this would not be serious, if their numbers were relatively small and they were distributed all over the country, but they tend to congregate in certain centres, where they become relatively numerous. The facility with which they can be naturalized gives them considerable political weight, and the use they frequently make of this shows the danger of a too wide and easy suffrage.

It is a strange psychological phenomenon this transformation of the down-trodden helot, transplanted to a freer atmosphere and a liberty that he never dreamed of, presuming to point the way in political development to the descendants of races who have won by centuries of struggle and sacrifice the freedom in which this alien is now too generously admitted a sharer. Someone has aptly termed it the "recoil of the Jew."

Imbued with this traditional attitude of hostility and hatred towards constituted government, and fortified by the success of their compatriots in Russia, this type of alien supplies dangerous material for the agitator in times of unrest and disturbance.

Besides this comparatively recent immigrant there are representatives of other European nationalities distributed over the Rand, whose standards and traditions

are far different from ours. Some of these, already familiar with desperate methods of settling their controversies or their vendettas, are dangerous material to have about when revolutionary talk is in the air.

4. A half-amused tolerance used to be extended to the eccentric type of soap-box orator who on Sunday mornings held forth to constantly melting and reforming groups in Hyde Park or Hampstead Heath, but it came to be questioned after a time whether a certain amount of this uncontradicted vapouring had not an unsettling and sometimes mischievous influence on ignorant hearers. The average man regarded the exhibition as harmless, if not indeed beneficial, in so far as it afforded a means of letting off steam that, undischarged in this way, might do more harm. But a speech that would produce only a shrug and a smile with a British crowd might have a very different result on those whose minds were differently constituted or had been previously embittered or misled. A Johannesburg crowd in 1921 was very different from the easy-going strollers in Hyde Park in 1912.

These were undoubtedly real hardships in regard to unemployment and high prices on the Rand as elsewhere, and there was intense traditional or artificially cultivated prejudice in the minds of certain sections of the population, as we have seen. It was further a time of world readjustment, when the new machinery was not likely to settle down to efficient working without much jarring and jolting to begin with. It was a splendid field for the agitator, and he took full advantage of it.

The frequency with which prominent agitators in recent industrial disturbances are found to bear names of Scottish origin is not so surprising to anyone who knows something of Scottish history and temperament. From Covenanting times at least there has been a type of Scot that, once imbued with an idea, seems incapable of refraining from unlimited wordiness in the expression of it. The persecution of the Covenanters brought forth the fanatical preacher that Scott has satirized in the Gabriel Kettledrumme and Habakkuk Mucklewrath of "Old Mortality." This proneness to rhetorical exuberance has been transmitted, but, with the notorious exception of the morbid ranter whose extravagances recently drove many simple folk in the Scottish fishing villages into a religious frenzy, the complaint exhibits itself nowadays mostly in connection with industrial or socialistic propaganda. We have the type here on the Rand in as much prominence as elsewhere. The stock-in-trade of the business seems to be a jargon of phrases and epithets, particularly abusive epithets, and these, as they are projected with increasing force and repetition

and with a growing display of real or simulated indignation, produce a sort of hypnotic effect on the unsophisticated hearer that may impel him to any extent of frenzy or folly. It is the manner of the ordinary soap-box or street-corner orator: just as there is no particular reason why he should ever begin, so there is none why he should ever leave off except physical exhaustion. In anything that can be laid hold of or reported in these deliverances there seems to be little or no mental counterpart to the noisy and interminable outpouring of words. This tendency to verbal incontinence unfortunately prevails to an extraordinary extent to-day in other areas, such as science, music, education and so-called "philosophy," and the same endless flow of technical, or what appears to be technical, jargon, with little or no discernible meaning or coherence about it, overwhelms the listener or reader. In these other fields, although it "cannot but make the judicious grieve," and perhaps the profane laugh, yet it does not provoke to riot and civil strife; but, when it invades social and industrial relations, it has a dangerous and a disintegrating effect on certain minds that may lead to deplorable unrest and disturbance.

The Scottish exponent of these socialistic doctrines that we are familiar with is usually a dour, dull, dismal fellow, with no touch of humour to relieve the flow of his rancorous verbosity. Frequently his efficiency in his particular trade varies inversely as the square of his talk. What a contrast to the geniality and human sympathy of that cheery and splendid type of British-working-man and patriot, the late Will Crooks, who, by winning the respect of all classes, did more for his fellows than a wilderness of these gloomy blunderers in South Africa! Barrie in his incomparable play, "What Every Woman Knows," excellently portrays the failure of this blatant self-sufficient, but infinitely dull, type of Labour leader, and hits off the situation at the end, when Maggie, irritated to desperation by the conceited stupidity of her husband, takes him by the shoulders and says, "Eh, John, if ye could only laugh!"

Scott exhibits the typical Kettledrummle, when his poor dupes have challenged the armed forces of the Crown, as securely ensconced "on the safe side of the dyke," and we may be sure that his South African successors will always be found on the safe side of the dyke, when the bullets are flying.

There is abundant evidence to show that propaganda of what we now call a Bolshevik character has been going on among this newer Jewish population on the Rand for a number of years. It has disclosed itself directly in the open advocacy of extreme socialism by a number of Jewish Mucklewraths and Kettledrummies, and in their identification with the most violent section

of the Labour Party, as offering the best organized machinery for that disintegration of our social system that they seek to achieve. The Jewish Kettledrummle is loud-mouthed and violent when there is no threat of physical retribution around, but, like his Scottish prototype, he is to be found on the safe side of the dyke—and the law—when the bullets are flying. The debasing moral effect of the dissemination of this plague of Bolshevism among our own men—and worse still among our women—has been disclosed to an extent that could not have been believed possible. It will be dealt with later.

Indirectly the evil effect of this Bolshevism among these more recent immigrants was shown by their attitude of aloofness or hostility during the Great War—an attitude that was in striking contrast with that of a number of the older Jewish families, who had fully identified themselves with the two chief elements of our people in the responsibility and service required by their citizenship, and bore their full share willingly during the perilous years.

Let there be no mistake about this—the better type of Jew, like the better type of Scot in this land, feels acute shame when he finds numbers of his race or country active advocates or willing followers of a cult of destructiveness.

There may be others whose Socialism is of a less openly Bolshevik or violent character, but whose doctrines and teaching have done their insidious mischief gradually in our midst. They too are likely to be found on the safe side of the dyke.

5. Among the circumstances precedent to and making more possible the revolutionary outbreak must be reckoned the deplorable civic indifference of Johannesburg, and the lack of any sense of corporate life. This again is an unfortunate tradition arising from its rapid growth from a mining camp to a great town, and the constantly shifting and unstable population of its earlier days. Very many had no idea of settling permanently on the Rand—why should they trouble themselves about municipal responsibilities? Just after the Boer War a municipal franchise was offered: few seemed to care to apply for forms or to fill them up when they were brought to them. Most seemed content to make as much as they could, and get back to where they belonged, either overseas or to the older parts of South Africa.

The utmost credit is due to a number of prominent and trusted citizens who stepped forward and gave their best to the service of the town in the early years of the century; but a change came over things, and the average personnel of the Council gradually deteriorated, until latterly it has been most difficult to get “the right

stamp of man" to stand at all. The fault lay partly with the average citizen and partly with a new type of member who was gaining municipal honours. The former was frequently too indifferent to vote, and, even if a good man was induced to stand, there was no guarantee that those who sympathized with his views, or even his own friends, would take any trouble to get him in. On the other hand, the Labour and latterly the Bolshevik elements of the population were keen and active to get control of the town, and neglected no chance of polling their full strength—sometimes, it is said, more than their full strength—and returning a type of member who appeared to cultivate a policy of rudeness and offensiveness to the moderate section of the Council. It became more and more difficult to get a good man to stand. It was a thankless enough job at the best to undertake civic duties, but it was too much to expect him to become one of a municipal bear-garden.

With the degradation in the personnel of the Council came the degradation of discipline and order in the Municipal Services. During the Great War there was an influx of a new type into the tramway service and the municipal power-house, and the usual policy of forcing up wages was followed until a crisis was reached in May, 1918. The Council was compelled to surrender and to grant a wage that was excessive in itself and had the result of forcing up wages generally outside.

From that moment the Power Station became the masters of the town. Every attempt to stop their demands was met by a threat of a strike, and this was carried out more than once to the discomfort and disgust of the whole municipal area. A rally of the forces of moderation and order was made in 1919, and a sufficiently strong body of anti-Bolshevik councillors was returned. An acute position shortly arose, and the Power Station defied the law and the Council, seized the trams and ran them under their own authority. The Government sent up two members of the Cabinet, who, through utter failure to understand or some strange perversity of political expediency, inclined to favour the Power Station, and gave away the Council. Half the Councillors resigned, and the town, joining in their disgust, allowed the Labour-Bolshevik interest to take sole control of affairs. Two Labour Mayors in succession were appointed, and the riot of extravagance had full course. At the end of last year another rally of the moderate elements was made, and the Labour-Nationalist control was ended, but only by the slender majority of one. Such was the position of affairs when the mining trouble broke out, the Power Station still dominating and terrorizing the town, and almost half the Council ready to support them.

There is no reason why such a state of matters should exist in Johannesburg. Far from being an unsettled mining camp, it has become an established community very many of whom have made for themselves permanent and attractive homes. The vast majority are not Bolshevik or Socialistic: they lack only a corporate spirit and organization to make it impossible in future for a truculent mob of employes or a noisy and intolerant minority of destructive Bolsheviks, or their like, to terrorize or control the town.

It should fill us as a community with shame to think that it has been impossible for years to hold a public political meeting in any quarter of the town—of any but the one section—that was not liable to be broken up or rendered impossible by blustering gangs of hooligans. The Prime Minister has more than once been refused a hearing, and even had personal violence offered to him.

We have it in our power to end this for ever, if we realize the necessity for cultivating and maintaining a corporate spirit and strong corporate action to rescue our town from the disgrace that now attaches to it. Shameful things, too, of systematic bribery and corruption are commonly asserted, although it is impossible to get evidence on oath to support charges that are generally believed. It is impossible that the sense of the great majority of citizens can be indifferent to this additional disgrace.

6. Reference has already been made to several unsatisfactory factors in the general situation, but probably nothing is so debased in our public affairs at the present time as the state of our politics. Great hopes were entertained of a revival of prosperity of all kinds when the new Government was established in power last year: too great hopes, of course, and there came the inevitable reaction. The Government was no more responsible for the state of the weather and the crops than it was for the price of gold; but it is not the business of the Opposition to say so. The wave of depression and unemployment reached this country later than others, but it could not be stopped. It was convenient to lay it all down to the Government and to their “infamous” alliance with the Imperial Government.

Every grievance and hardship was exploited to the fullest extent by the noisy and unscrupulous agitator, political and industrial. The existence of all this difficulty and distress was invaluable for their purposes: their business was to aggravate it and not to better it. The situation reminded one of the cynical remark of a British politician about a demagogue rival: “The last thing he wants is the abolition of the slums—he needs them for his perorations!”

The Government lost two or three seats, and appeared

to lose their nerve too. They had allowed themselves to be stampeded more than once by their fear of the Nationalists. Many people said there were members of the Government itself who had more sympathy with the Nationalists than with their new Unionist allies. There was a fear suggested that some members of the Government party might desert to the enemy. All this tended to weaken the hands of the Cabinet, and, when the time came at which they might have intervened with strength and decision, they were handicapped by this want of confidence in themselves and in the security of their position.

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Such were the circumstances immediately preceding the development of the outbreak, and no doubt an intelligent survey and estimate of them should have furnished some prevision of what was likely to occur, if all these factors were to be allowed to operate to the fullest extent. But that every possible disintegrating influence should have full scope for two months or more was the last thing that the ordinary citizen could have foreseen, or dreamt of.

The beginning was relatively insignificant in these times, when strikes and rumours of strikes have become everyday matters. It was evident that, if the export coal trade was to be retained, some arrangement must be come to for the adjustment of wages to possible price. So far as the coal-miners were concerned, it looked as if it was only the pose of the stiff upper lip, and that sooner or later an agreement would be arrived at. The mine-owners offered what they declared to be the irreducible minimum: the miners asked for arbitration, presumably in the hope of achieving a compromise. The reply was that the position was so definite that no arbitration could alter it: there cannot be two opinions as to whether two and two make four. Reasonable counsels failed, and the coal strike took effect from the 1st of January. The mines went on working with the native miners and the general staff, and some strange and interesting results were reported later. The output of one mine was stated to be, for one period at any rate, greater than when it had its full complement of white men.

The position in regard to the gold mines had become very acute in consequence of the comparatively rapid fall in the price of gold. The Chamber of Mines, after several attempts at negotiation, issued a notice that an alteration in rates of wages would take effect from the 1st of February—the famous ultimatum!

The South African Industrial Federation had taken over control from the Mine Workers' Union, and a ballot was decreed of mine-workers and those connected with

associated industries on the question of the acceptance of the ultimatum, or alternatively a strike. It was contended at a later stage that in the mind of the average miner there was no idea that a decision in favour of a strike would be immediately acted upon, but that it would be held in reserve as a powerful weapon in the negotiations. Whether this was so or not, it was remarkable that not many more than 60 per cent of the mining employes and others recorded their votes—if so many. The result showed an overwhelming majority in favour of a strike. What was the attitude of those who did not vote, or their reason for not voting? The method of conducting these industrial ballots, the question whether a member of a trade union is as free to register his vote in an industrial question, affecting the welfare of himself and his family, as he is in the much less personally important matter of a political election, is precisely one of those that call for most earnest thinking by all who have the future welfare of this country at heart. To the surprise of the average man at any rate, a strike was declared, to take effect at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 10th of January—and this in spite of the fact that the Chamber of Mines had offered to extend the date of their ultimatum to the 9th of February. Surely no attempt would be made to interdict the essential services that were necessary to preserve the life of the mines, so that a resumption of work would be possible even on the low-grade mines, the continuance of which was so precarious, and involved the employment of several thousands of Europeans as well as natives? In spite of the example of the coal mines in England, when the general strike was declared; in spite of the relatively greater peril to the Rand as a whole—and not only to the Rand, but indirectly to the whole of South Africa—the continuance of the essential work of pumping to save the life of the mines was ordered to cease, so far as the fiat of the South African Industrial Federation could carry.

The shadow of Soviet rule seemed to be drawing nearer, but few believed that anything so absurd could happen in South Africa. At any rate the mine officials rallied loyally and carried on where it was at all possible. The strike had included the Victoria Falls Power Company, which supplied the necessary electric power for the working of the mines, and the maintenance of pumping was in some instances rendered impossible. The daily rise of the submerging water in the mines was duly notified, but the impending threat of irretrievable disaster was allowed to grow.

If the miners had gone, and the officials were mainly employed in maintaining essential services, it was evident that ordinary mining operations must cease, and

the greater part of the natives must be thrown idle. This was exactly what had been pointed to as one of the greatest dangers possible—an enormous number of "boys" with nothing to do, deprived of their ordinary supervision, and with a variety of temptations inviting them. To repatriate them must take time, if the worst was to happen, and the work of mining was to cease for any lengthy period. Meantime how were they to be controlled and employed to any extent to save them, and others, from mischief and trouble? That danger did not apparently concern the powers of the Industrial Federation. It was to prove one of the cards to be played later for sinister purposes.

Time went by, time-expired natives from the mines were going home in many hundreds daily, and were not being replaced. Automatically unemployment for an increasing number of white men was thereby made certain. Neither side showed any disposition to yield, and the Government proposed a Conference of an equal number of representatives of employers and employes with a judge to preside. This was accepted by both sides, and high hopes were entertained that some solution would be found and the disastrous suspension of industry ended.

The Conference, however, dragged on from day to day, and the reports of the discussion, if discussion it could be called, showed that there was no intention on the part of the employes' representatives of accepting the statement of the position put forward by the Chamber, and, therefore, no intention of accepting the new terms that were based on it. Thirteen days were consumed with no result except the covering of an extensive acreage of paper with reports of speeches, and the aggravation of the relations between the parties to the dispute. The infinite patience and tact of the Chairman produced nothing, and the Conference broke up fruitless.

The extraordinary offensiveness of the representatives of the South African Industrial Federation throughout the Conference towards the other side would be amazing in a meeting that was presumed to have for its object a solution of the trouble, were it not that it was perfectly consistent with the "militant spirit" required by the constitution of the Federation. Did the Government or the Chamber of Mines know of this article in the constitution of the Federation, when they embarked on their endeavour to reach a settlement? Presumably not. It is now perfectly evident that the Federation representatives had no intention whatever of arriving at any arrangement except that of a complete surrender of the other side, which they knew to be incompatible with the continuance of the gold industry. What could they have wanted except to prolong the

struggle until the disappointed strikers were goaded to frenzy?

With the failure of the Conference came the expectation that the prolonged irritation and disappointment would find vent in some form of violence, but for the moment there was little beyond a few attempts to do damage by exploding charges of dynamite. Although the tension was great, there was what appeared to be a sort of lull of expectation. The Government made one more attempt by inducing the Chamber of Mines to make some temporary concession as regarded the high-grade mines, and by asking the Federation to accept this. It was useless, and the Prime Minister, in despair of any solution by negotiation, and in order to save the whole country from the destruction that was being forced upon it, advised the men to return to work on any terms, promising that Parliament should be invited to deal with the whole question of the mining industry as urgently and speedily as possible. At the same time he guaranteed protection to those who decided to resume work.

Meantime, so far as Johannesburg itself was concerned, the Power Station was not allowed to be out of the picture. The coal necessary to generate the power was seized upon as the means of bringing pressure to bear on the Municipality and the public. The ukase of the Federation went forth that no coal from the interdicted mines was to be used under threat of an immediate suspension of tramways and light. There was only a limited quantity of "clean" coal left, enough to supply light alone for a few days, so the trams had to stop. A crisis was in the air, but the Council surrendered, obtained some inferior coal that had, to the dominating power, the merit of being "clean," and the tram service was resumed after some days during which discomfort had been minimized by resort to every form of wheeled vehicle that could be unearthed from pioneer days onward. The Johannesburg public is a long-suffering one, and they endeavoured to take a good-natured view of their troubles, but there are limits to the humorous view when one's youngsters and women-folk are overstrained at the warmest period of the year.

The Soviet rule had developed from a shadow to a reality, and authority for the time being was transferred from the accredited representatives of the citizens to a tyranny that was to wax yet more insolent, overbearing and unreasonable.

South Africa has been called the "grave of reputations," and, whether mindful of this warning or only rendered cautious by experience, the older resident walks warily in such times, and refrains from unnecessary speech or writing. There was something so unusual in this calculated challenge to everything that was sane and reasonable that the wise kept a watchful eye on

developments, and waited. Those who are otherwise tend to tread where they should not, but this time the adage was reversed, and it was an angel—or the nearest approach to it that we have in a prelate of the Church—new-lighted on another part of Africa, who was moved to an outpouring of sentiments and sympathy based on experience elsewhere. Nothing but untold harm could be caused by such unexpected encouragement to the gathering forces of brutal outrage received from a quarter exactly opposite to that whence it would have been appropriate. Such indiscretions are too fleet for repentance to overtake, and they are all the more severely to be reprobated.

With the guarantee of the Prime Minister that protection would be afforded to returning workers, the Chamber of Mines adhered to the offer they had made regarding wages, and proceeded to carry on the output of gold as far as numbers would permit. Comparatively few, however, of the underground workers availed themselves of the offers made, although by this time the married men at least must have felt acutely the loss of wages in the weeks that had passed, particularly as the miner is proverbially improvident, and seldom lays by for a rainy day.

There was a disposition to blame them for faint-heartedness, for failure to see that they were cutting off their nose to spite their face, so far as they themselves were concerned, and for indifference to the disaster that the suspension of the gold industry was bringing on the whole of South Africa. But there was much to be said in excuse for their hesitancy. The policy of the "militant spirit," the mailed fist, was not the only sanction that was employed to influence them. There was the subtle appeal to the fine sentiment of loyalty to their fellows—"my class, right or wrong" In the background too was the horror of being permanently labelled "a scab," one who, to save himself, had let others down. This was a reproach that could be cast in his teeth for years to come, and would attach to his wife and children as well as to himself. These were powerful sanctions apart altogether from the threats of physical violence that were to come later. The organization that had been built up to compel the will of the majority, however created, was most efficient, and he would have to be a bold man who would venture to defy it, however wrong and tyrannical he might feel it to be.

Nevertheless a small number dared the consequences and returned to work, particularly on mines whose life was most precarious; but it very soon became apparent that the police force, strengthened though it was by contingents called in from all over the Union, and by the recruiting of a large number of special constables, was

quite inadequate to give protection over so wide an area as the Witwatersrand.

Now began the carrying out of the system of intimidation that was not only to prevent the mine-workers returning, but to compel complete surrender to the utmost demands of the Federation. So it appeared at the outset, and so perhaps it was in the minds of some of the Trade Union representatives; but from the subsequent happenings it is impossible for the average man to believe that dangerous designs were not in progress at a very early stage, and that any of the prominent leaders could possibly be ignorant of them. How much courts and commissions of inquiry will be able to unearth and establish remains to be seen.

Pickets were placed round many of the mines, the houses of doubtful men were visited and the inmates warned of the consequence of any attempt to return to work. The "commando" system of drilling the strikers in companies, in order to enforce discipline and obedience to all that might be required of them, was developed all along the Reef. Violence was evidently only a question of time, and it began with outrages on individual men that the police proved almost powerless to stop.

It is not the purpose of this paper to detail the incidents in order that preceded the outbreak, but only to note the outstanding changes and developments and the state of mind that accompanied or produced them. What occurred will therefore be summarized as shortly as possible.

Speeches increasing in vehemence of utterance and incitement to violence were delivered all over the Rand. The Town Hall of Johannesburg was crowded daily by a mob who sometimes marched in their commandos from different centres. The political orator came much into prominence, and the snake of International Socialism emerged from the lair into which it had retired since the times of the Great War. Fierce attacks on the Prime Minister were mingled with misrepresentations and accumulated lies of all kinds calculated to inflame and embitter the minds of those who heard them. There were those who advocated violence and outrage in the plainest terms, and others who hypocritically tried to evade the law by using vaguer language that their audience, however, would know very well how to construe and act upon. "There are more ways of killing a dog than choking him with butter," and we are all familiar with the plea that there was an appeal to avoid violence in the words, "Whatever you do to that man, my friends, let me implore you not to throw him into the duck-pond."

There were much worse things done than throwing men into duck-ponds, brutalities by men and outrages by

women that cannot be mentioned—and not by the newcomer, but by our English and Dutch women that had been so debased by the poison of this loathsome Bolshevik propaganda that, in their madness and frenzy, they shamed their womanhood and their race, and must have feared to look their own children in the face again.

It is not necessary to do more than refer to the grotesque incidents of the Republican Resolution in the Johannesburg Town Hall, or the Mock Parliament in Pretoria, when insignificant individuals exploited the situation to pose as pinchbeck Robespierres, and ended in making themselves ridiculous. These things were lost in the serious developments that were fast ripening.

The trouble was accentuated and the mobs increased by the renewal of trouble at the Power Station, when the Town Council decided that the services could not be continued unless good coal from the interdicted collieries was brought in. The Federation issued thunder and lightning, but for once the Council was firm, and the Power Station "came out." Their exit was incidentally hastened by the action of the Police, who took possession. Light and trams were suspended: light for two or three days until volunteer hands restored it, and the trams indefinitely. These dark nights were made more hideous and disquieting by constant explosions produced in attempts to damage power lines, or buildings, or the railway. The fact that the possession of dangerous explosives by many people over the Rand area was possible, might well have been mentioned as one of the important facts to be noted preceding the outbreak. It was at any rate a fact that no Government should have lost sight of in considering steps to be taken to guarantee order and public safety. Here was a means of intimidating a community that existed nowhere else to the same extent, and plenty of men expert in the handling of it, if they were unscrupulous enough to do so. A new horror was developed in the improvised bomb, which was thrown into private houses in the dead of the night to terrorize or injure the inmates.

The commandos were cultivating and demonstrating the "militant spirit" to the full, and there were two sharp encounters with forces of the Police in the East Rand area in the latter days of February.

Meantime Parliament had opened in Capetown, and only two members of the Cabinet had been left behind to watch events and report. Unfortunately they were the same two who had failed to grasp the situation in Johannesburg on the previous occasion referred to. They did their watching and waiting, mostly in Pretoria. The policy of waiting is the easy refuge of indecision, but excuse had to be made for them in the fact that the industrial question had become so largely obscured

by the political one, and so great a proportion of the truculent mobs and commandos were their "own people." They did not know what effect more forcible measures would have on the "backveld." They were obsessed by the backveld, and thought less than they should of the great majority of well-disposed people on the Rand, who were dazed by this free scope given to "militant" elements and methods. They also waited, but they could do nothing else, until the authoritative call came.

Instead of the encounters on the East Rand having a "provocative" effect, there seemed to be a slight lull in the disorder, and there was a slight increase in the drift back to the mines, in spite of intimidation.

It looked almost as if the "militant spirit" had not produced the results expected, and the face of the Federation—or Augmented (or *demented*) Executive had of course to be saved! An invitation was sent to the Chamber of Mines proposing a further conference. This was refused, but in what most thought at the time unfortunately contemptuous terms. In spite of the rebuff the *tormented* Executive, drawn two ways, declared for a ballot of the men on the question of a return to work, a course that sanity should have counselled long before. If there was a moderate or a timid element among the leaders, it was overwhelmed by another body, which gloried in the intemperate letter of the Chamber of Mines, and the Council of Action thenceforward took direction of affairs. It was all "according to plan," and quite in the manner of the French Revolution, when each form of control was succeeded by one more violent and bloodthirsty. The *now lamented* Executive were bottled up in the Trades Hall, with the street blocked by a surging, howling mob, until, under compulsion, they gratified them by ordering a general strike. They had sown the wind in all conscience, and they had no ground for complaint that the whirlwind swept them off their feet.

There had been an attempt some time before to test whether a sympathetic general strike throughout the country had any chance of success, but the response was so feeble from other centres that the idea was not proceeded with.

As now revived, it was a challenge to the whole community, and forcible measures were taken by the Reds to stop all work and transport: even the essential services of supplying bread and meat were interdicted. The International Socialist had come into his own, and there was going to be a glorious wreckage—and what more? The completion of the plan was to follow the lines adopted in Moscow, and the world would be so

much better when everything and everybody had been destroyed!

On the days following the declaration bands of men and women forced their way into business houses, into the Telephone Exchange, into the Railway workshops, and threatened with violence any who dared to continue working. All cabs and 'buses were interdicted, and private cars conveying people to work were stopped and overturned.

During this tense period the conduct and the discipline of the police were beyond all praise: their numbers were totally inadequate, and they could not be everywhere; but they frequently intervened to check outrage, and exhibited a firmness and a restraint that were astonishing, in view of the enormous fatigue they had undergone for weeks and the continued nervous strain of their weak position.

But the vilest device of all has to be recorded, the attempt to force the native to add to the chaos. Some time before the outbreak reports were spread about that the natives were rising and killing and looting. Meetings were called professedly to take defensive measures "against the native," but really to intensify the false scare of a native rising, and incidentally to discover who were possessed of arms. This was no casual incident: it was carried out systematically "according to plan" all along the Reef. The native had been most quiet and law-abiding even in the midst of this amazing spectacle of the white man's insanity, hence it was necessary to stir him up, so that he might perform his part in the piece "according to plan." Two days after the declaration of the general strike absolutely unprovoked attacks on defenceless natives began and were continued at more than one point. Many of them were killed and injured, but even then the rest were sensible enough to recognise the character of the attack, to refrain from counter violence, and to leave the necessary retribution in the hands of the forces of law and order. It was a cowardly and dastardly trick the extremists had plotted and tried to execute, but the admirable behaviour of the native defeated it.

The patience of the Government was extraordinary, and unaccountable in the face of the number and the strength of the representations that poured in upon them, but the events of the 9th of March terminated the equanimity with which the two Ministers in Pretoria had borne for weeks the discomfort, the strain, the anxiety, the fear and peril and suffering of—the people on the Rand! That day Johannesburg was practically in the hands of the Reds: commandos paraded the streets, preceded by bands and banners bearing such mottos as "A White South Africa in Danger," many of the men

carrying murderous-looking clubs and bludgeons studded with nails or jagged points. The wide space in front of the Town Hall was occupied by thousands of people wearing red rosettes—the Strikers' Band was there to provide appropriate music, and—worst outrage of all—the Red Flag floated from the pole that had so often displayed the Union Jack to call men to the great struggle that had saved the civilization that these poor, deluded folk were now out to destroy. The Government of the country had to re-establish its authority, and Martial Law was proclaimed on the morning of Friday, the 10th of March.

It looked at the moment as if it had been delayed too long, as if the Red terror had got too strong a grip, and might perpetrate terrible things before the forces of order could reassert themselves. As it turned out, through no wisdom on the part of the hesitating Ministers, but by the fortunate process of events, the full scheme of the revolutionaries had been disclosed, and the time was just right. If the Prime Minister, advised, no doubt, by his Ministers on the spot, had shown political indecision and hesitancy, he showed the highest physical courage, when the moment for action had come—his bitterest enemies have never ventured to question his courage—and proceeded at once to the scene of trouble, penetrating the enemy's lines at serious personal risk on the night of the 11th.

Meantime various units of the Defence Force were called out, and the people of Johannesburg, having at last authorized means of settling with the hooligan crowds that had with impunity threatened the peace and the well-being of the community, and practically suspended the conditions of civilized life, came forward in strength to fill the ranks of the ordinary regiments and of the civic guards—"full strength" cannot be said: there were some youths who preferred tennis, and some others whose golf could not be interrupted. The men were there, but everything else was not, and, had the Reds only known the failure of someone to have every provision made for the contingency of Martial Law, they might, for a short time at the very outset, have had full scope for their programme of terrorism. But, fortunately for the cause of order and civilization, the fighting part of the business was just as badly managed as the previous proceedings had been. The leaders were full of words and apparently of little else. So long as the contest was one of words, it had been prolonged and produced nothing but displacement of air; but the struggle was now one of deeds, and it was very promptly determined.

With the details of it this survey is not concerned: they are to be found amply chronicled elsewhere. But it

is desirable to say that, so far as Johannesburg was concerned, the situation was saved by its own citizen forces with the aid of the Police, the Durban contingent, and the magnificent work of the air force and the artillery, the success of which was mostly due to experience gained on the Western Front. All credit is due to the Burgher forces, who did their part to save the country, many of them in spite of their political sentiments. They did splendid service along the Reef, but Johannesburg saved itself, once it was given the opportunity—or rather the same representatives of the two dominant sections of our people who did their part to the full in the Great War. Let there be no mistake about it: for a second time they have saved this country, and they will do it each time it is necessary, whatever the cost. The cost this time has been the loss of many lives that can ill be spared.

With the suppression of the revolt, peace and quiet settled down on the Rand, for Martial Law imposes no insupportable restraint on the law-abiding. All strikes were formally called off, so that as many as possible might resume work. The long suspension of work, however, as the strikers were warned fruitlessly again and again, had destroyed the possibility of the full resumption of any industry, and, with large numbers unemployed, serious distress was bound to last for some time. It was significant of the state of the public mind that, while the fund for the dependants of the murdered Police was liberally and widely supported, the Distress Fund was regarded coldly, and had to rely mostly on official subsidies from Government and the Chamber of Mines.

The attempt of the Government to carry the necessary Indemnity Bill through Parliament roused the most unscrupulous opposition from the two opposing sections. The Labour members devoted their energies to putting up what someone aptly called a "smoke-screen" to obscure the issue, and to distract attention from the enormous disaster which their own foolish and wicked mouthing had brought upon their poor misguided followers. The Nationalist speakers, clutching at the opportunity of the industrial trouble, and simulating sympathy with a movement about which they cared nothing except so far as they believed it likely to affect their own supporters, consumed weeks in pouring out the most venomous and unscrupulous accusations, disclosing an intensity of hatred and spitefulness and malice that fills one with dismay as to the future of this country, if their feelings and utterances represent in any measure those of their constituents—and all of it designed, not to promote the welfare of anyone or anything, but *to compass the downfall of one man.*

The exhibition has been a painful and depressing one, and confirms what has already been said as to the degradation of our political life.

The shameless attempt to divert censure and retribution from themselves to the Government has been a complete failure, and has resulted in increased distrust of those who promoted it. Nothing constructive can proceed from a policy of hate, and, until these members of the Legislature can appreciate this and mend their ways, there can be little hope of South Africa speedily overcoming her troubles.

Unfortunately the policy of the smoke-screen is now being continued on the Rand, and attempts made to fling about unnecessary accusations and to suggest unnecessary suspicion and distrust. There are some people who can learn nothing and forget nothing; but surely this policy of creating and fostering enmity and hatred and distrust has failed, and the other should be given a chance by all concerned.

The "militant spirit" in industrial relations has led to enormous disaster and distress; the spiteful and rancorous spirit in Parliament, although it failed to accomplish its main object, has increased bitterness and accentuated differences.

There is no safety or peace by either of these routes, and it becomes a duty incumbent on everyone who loves this country to lift himself above racial, sectional or class prejudice, and do everything in his power to promote the spirit of goodwill. We cannot live a life of isolation, even if we would: some of the big world movements and causes are bound to affect us here, and it is from these that many of our present troubles proceed; but we can refuse to follow the example of Europe in taking advantage of every difficulty to "feed fat the ancient grudge," to exploit every narrow and sectional aim, and to foster division and dissension in every form. We Europeans are, after all, only a small company scattered over a wide and largely undeveloped territory, and surrounded by enormously greater numbers of inferior races, whose welfare is bound up with ours, and towards whom we, as the superior and responsible race, owe a duty that we must realise and discharge, if we are not to go backward ourselves.

Of course our social scheme is very far from being what it might be and will be, and it is very easy to find grievances and to keep old wounds from healing—any fool can do that—but, such as it is, it has taken a long time for the corporate head to construct it. There was much thumping and breaking of bones, no doubt, in the long centuries of the process, but the man who would try to persuade us that the best way to improve it to-day is to promote more thumping and breaking of heads :—

either a fool or a knave. There is no place for such in South Africa just now: they have done enough mischief in the past, and our present purpose should be to see how much we can improve the "sorry scheme of things" by mutual goodwill.

Difficult though it may be for them, and inconsistent with the habit of their trade, let our legislators try to begin it. It may sit on some of them rather awkwardly, but it will become any of them better than what we have witnessed recently; and it will at least give us peace for a time, so that prosperity may have a chance to return, and the country to recover from its wounds.

As for the employing agencies, chief among them the Chamber of Mines, although they may have much ground for resentment, and although relations of goodwill and co-operation will not be easy to restore, let them remove as far as possible the things that have laid them open to criticism even by the disinterested, let them put their industry on a straightforward, business-like, dividend-yielding, and efficient basis, that will command public confidence; and let them establish arrangements with their employes by which all grievances and matters of dispute can be fairly and satisfactorily determined.

As for the men, let them realize that their counsellors and representatives and spokesmen have misled them into a woeful swamp, and that there is something sadly wrong with their organization, or the working of it, if such things can happen. They have far too many Kettledrums' tolerated among them or allowed to exploit them, and something is strangely wrong with their machinery, when it is possible for their representative officials, once elected, to remain on indefinitely apparently, and to exercise a tyranny over the rank and file beside which the oppression of a feudal baron would be beneficent. Above all there is something wrong with their ballot scheme, which ought to be so worked as to be a safeguard of liberty; instead of which it has become a sham and an instrument of tyranny, so that the men themselves, as in this case, run away from it: the first essential of a ballot, absolute secrecy, seems to be wanting from it. The idea of the Trade Union is excellent, and should be a guarantee of efficiency as well as of liberty. But the existing complicated machinery, with all its ridiculously high-sounding titles and its blantant, militant spirit and methods, is a means of protection mainly to the inefficient, and has succeeded in placing a gulf between employer and unemployed, across which pass only unfriendly exchanges, where there should have been a bridge of mutual understanding and goodwill.

The people of Johannesburg have justified too long

the reproach that they have been so intent on their own individual interests, that they have failed to cultivate the corporate spirit of citizenship and mutual goodwill. They could have made it much more difficult for the mischievous and disintegrating influences to acquire so much power, and to make the town present to the outside world a character that is so far from the true one. They have shown that they can readily suppress the unwholesome and unruly elements when necessary, but they should see to it that in future, with so much explosive material about, human and other, there shall be some prompt and effective permanent provision for the maintenance of order and the suppression of the hooliganism that has disgraced us. Incidentally the Witwatersrand University, which should be a means of protecting an increasing number of our people from being misled by crude and mischievous doctrines, has suffered a serious set-back in its development that may take several years to make up.

This South Africa of ours cannot become a great country, while we foster division and hatred among the older elements of her population, and while we admit too readily alien elements that are difficult to absorb, if they are not actively mischievous and hostile to our ideals. The talker and the agitator have been allowed too long to run riot among us, and to disseminate a poison—it does not matter whether the importation of that together with murderous weapons was engineered and subsidized from Europe or not—that has debased our men and our women, till in their frenzy they have uttered and done things that have shamed us all.

The Red Terror has this time been effectually crushed, but we must determine to take measures that the loathsome thing shall never rear its head in South Africa again—NEVER AGAIN!

### ERRATA.

p. 7 line 10 from bottom, for "mecahnically" read "mechanically"

p. 10 line 4 from top, should be transposed with line 5.

p. 13 word of second paragraph "these" should be read "there".

p. 15 line 29 from top, for 'michief' read 'mischief'

p. 17 line 9 from bottom, for "unscrupulous" read "unscrupulous".

p. 20 line 27 from top, for "intenton" read 'intention'.

p. 30 line 5 from bottom, for "unemployed" read "employed)".

p. 30 line 7 from bottom, for "blataut" read "blatant".





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